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of chief and of inspirational priest. There are examples of the attainment of such positions by those who had no hereditary claim to them. The factors determining social position were the function of a person in relationship to tribal activity dependent upon ability and personality; wealth, dependent partly on inheritance but chiefly on success in making favorable social alliances; energy and business ability; and lastly, personality, intelligence, and skill. A secondary factor was sex. Women, by reason of their being (not *tapu*), and because of their physical limitations, were incapable of performing certain functions in work or war. A woman could, however, as will be shown, become tribal chiefess or high priestess.

On Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva, there seems to have been the conception of a distinct chiefly class, which probably came with later immigrants who settled there. It was on Ua Pou that I first came upon the use of the terms *papa haka-iki* and *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu* (*papa*, level) as applied to the chiefs. Here the conception of a distinct chiefly class was definitely developed. On this island, the great valley of Haka Moui was called the valley of the *papa haka-iki*. In Haka he Tau, all the land on the west side of the stream (which was the side most protected from enemy attacks) belonged to and was occupied by the *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu*; while on the east side of the stream lived the *mata-ei-nana*, the common people of the tribe. Those of the chiefly class were called also *po'i tiketike* (*po'i*, people; *tiketike*, high). Informants insisted that *papa haka-iki* and *papa haka-te-pe'iu* were two distinct classes, rather than one, who married with each other. In every family the sex of the first-born determined whether the child belonged to the *haka-iki* or to the *haka-te-pe'iu* class. Conversations with natives in Haka Ui, Nuku Hiva, convinced me that there was such a conception there, also, in ancient times. The evidence drawn from the accounts of early visitors with regard to this question of a chiefly class must be handled with caution. Much of the information of these visitors was derived from or through uneducated English or French sailors living among the people, men who, like the voyagers themselves, were imbued with the European conception of kings and nobles and commoners. It is significant that Porter, from republican America, who had the closest dealings with the tribes of southern Nuku Hiva, speaks always of chiefs, never of kings. In the second place these early visitors from Europe were acquainted, through the writings of other explorers, some through their own experience, with the nature of government in Tahiti and Hawaii, where there were distinct classes and a genuine monarchial development with regal institutions. Langsdorff (18, pp. 111-112) gives us, however, a valuable piece of evidence on this matter, which would

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622 292 ningly wrapped and woven, surmounted by a small tuft of curly black hair. It appears that on Nuku Hiva the *pa'e ku'a*, an oblong frontlet about fifteen inches long and nine inches broad, made of fine red and green feathers, was the headdress particularly of chiefs and chiefesses. [304] On Ua Pou and Fatu Hiva, Mrs. Handy found that one small tattoo design on the ankle was the mark of the chiefly class and was restricted to them. A conch shell belonged to the chief and served him in summoning his workers and warriors.

Family alliances

622 582 On Hiva Oa the marriage of a chief with a representative of another chiefly stock was for social and political reasons considered the most favorable. Formal betrothal and marriage were always with equals; but a chief or chiefess was allowed to marry a commoner if he or she desired to do so, and the children of such a marriage were regarded as equal in [428] rank with the chiefly father or mother, as the case might be, inheriting property and rights as though of full chiefly blood. On the other hand, on both Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva a chief was never allowed to marry out of the *papa haka-iki* or *papa ha'a-te-pe'iu*. In Haka he Tau on Ua Pou it was said that the first son or daughter of the chief of a tribe in that valley always married some one of another chiefly family in the same valley and, inheriting the rights of the father or mother, became in time the head of the tribe. For the younger children suitable mates were found among the children of chiefly families of other valleys. Garcia (pp. 102-103), describing the Nuku Hiva convention, says:

> It is necessary that the one chosen should be also of the royal race, for it is not permitted to great chiefs to make a misalliance. An example of what I speak of was that of the queen Paetini who received us in the first place at the bay of Taiohae and Hakapehi. . . . She was the sole inheritor of numerous districts and she had as her principal spouse the chief or king of the Oumis, distant some miles, who came to see her only for two or three months; but about her were habitually two or three other lesser chiefs, who were likewise called her spouses.

622 582 171 A striking contrast between the marriage customs of chiefs in the Marquesas and those on Tahiti and in Hawaii is furnished by the fact that children of chiefly stock who married persons of common birth were regarded in the Marquesas as legitimate and were not outcasts as in Hawaii, [847 848] nor killed at birth as in Tahiti. It may be truly said that there was no such thing as illegitimacy and there was no infanticide. Another contrast with Hawaii is found in the fact that the *tapu* on the marriage of brothers and sisters applied as definitely and strictly in chiefly families as in others. There were no such close, consanguineous marriages as those of Hawaii to preserve the purity of chiefly blood.

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to preserve the purity of chiefly blood. Cross-cousin marriage, which will be discussed below, was rather for economic reasons than to perpetuate the purity of descent.

The most common mode of forming alliances between tribes was through the affiancing and marriage of the children of chiefs. Connected with these alliances were rites, elaborate ceremonial, and rules regulating the relationship.

Inheritance

Both in the northern and in the southern sections of the group inheritance of the position and rights of a chief or chiefess was always by the first-born child, whether male or female. In actual practice, however, inheritance was much more frequently by males than by females, for the reason that a man whose first-born was a girl would be most likely to adopt the first-born male child of some one else, who would then supercede his own first-born girl as inheritor of his rights and property. A chief, like the father of any other household, abdicated, in theory, upon the birth of his first-born son. In actual practice the head of a family or tribe would continue to function until the first-born had attained maturity; but all the members if the family or the tribe, as the case might be, regarded the child from its earliest infancy as the actual head of the family or tribe (cf. 14, p. 103). It has already been brought out at several points that there was a much stronger tendency in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou toward regarding the chief and chiefess as sacred individuals than there was in Hiva Oa. I have also spoken of the fact that all male first-borns were regarded as *tapu*, being the living representatives of the ancestral stock. That the *tapu* of chiefs was partly due to these factors is certain, but I believe it was largely a mere accompaniment of their power and position. It seems, furthermore, that the sacredness of chiefesses was due entirely to their position, since a woman was never the representative of the family stock.

Personal tapu

The sanctity of male children in general, discussed later in connection with family, was merely exaggerated in the case of male chiefs. The head being the most *tapu* of all parts of the body, for chiefs in particular but likewise for every first-born, many precautions were taken to prevent anything profane from passing over it or touching it. The persons of both chiefs and chiefesses were regarded as *tapu* in Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, but, apparently, in the southern section of the group chiefs and people concerned themselves little about it. Père Jean, writing of Ua Pou, says that the person who passed over a chief would be punished by *nani kaka*,

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601 A woman called her more or less permanent mate *ahana (vahana* or *vahaka);* but she also applied the term, specifically, to his brothers and to her sisters' husbands, and, in a general sense, to all the men of marriageable age in the tribe. *Ahana* meaning part or half of anything, did not, however, mean man or male in a general sense but definitely husband.

A man called his wife's brothers and sisters' husbands *toete;* a woman applied the same term to her husband's sisters and her brothers' wives. That is to say, for a man *toete* meant brother-in-law; for a woman, sister-in-law. A man called both his wife's parents *motunoai,* and they called him *hunona,* and so, likewise, with a woman and her husband's parents. *Toupu'una* was a term mutually applied to each other by parents-in-law. *Pekio* described men who came as secondary husbands of a woman, or women who were secondary wives of a man. (See Marriage.) Thus *ahana pekio,* secondary husband; *vehine pekio,* secondary wife. The *ahana pekio* was called also *tahu ahi,* because he tended the fire of the proprietor of the establishment. The same terms were used for step-parents and step-children as for true parents and children.

Sisters were *tuehine* to a male, brothers were *tunane (tukane, tu'ane)* to a female. *Tuaana (tuakana)* meant older brothers for a male, older sisters for a female; *teina* signified younger in the same sense. The same terms used between brothers and sisters were applied also to first cousins. But *tuaana* was applied specifically to cousins of the same sex who were children of a father's or mother's younger brother or younger sister. *Tua'ana kui* meant mother's older sister; *teina motua* meant father's younger brother. These terms evidence the strict regard for priority in genealogical descent, which extended even to this degree in personal relationship. Dordillon gives *kiitiohe* and *kopatia* as meaning younger brother or sister.

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every 604 child and the father's sisters *(tuehine)* and brothers-in-law *(toete)* and the mother's brothers *(tunane)* and sisters-in-law *(toete),* all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu.* They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu.* Male and female *i'amutu* were distinguished as *i'amutu tama* and *i'amutu mo'i.* Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children. While one was not 582 allowed to marry the child of one's father's brother or mother's sister, the most approved marriage that could be made was with the child of one's *pahupahu.* The wife or husband of one's *i'amutu* was also called *i'amutu.* No special term applicable to cousins who were children of *pahupahu* was

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601 Some outstanding features of the relationship system deserve to be pointed out particularly. In the first place there is evidence that at one time the native social order or that of the people's ancestors belonged to, or was influenced by, that type known as the classificatory system. This evidence consists of the fact that a man called all women of marriageable age *vehine*—the same term as that used for wife, and that a woman called all men of marriageable age *ahana* (husband). A child called all men of his father's age *motua* (father). Further evidence of a former existence of the classificatory system is given in the age-class terms.

601 It is to be noted that the brother and sister relationship was applied also first cousins and, furthermore, that the parent-child relationship 604 was conceived of as existing also between uncles and aunts, nephews and nieces. In the relationships between brothers and sisters and between male 605 and female cousins the use of different terms by the opposite sexes and the specification of seniority as between two members of the same sex are to be noticed.

● 582 The most interesting feature of the system is the relationship existing between father's sister or mother's brother and their children, both male 604 and female. This is the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* relationship. The origin of this seems to have been in the regulations controlling marriage, which allowed a man to have sexual relationship at times with his wife's sisters or his brothers' wives and a woman with her husband's brothers or her sisters' husbands. Out of this grew also marriage restrictions that classed cousins who were children of a mother's sister or a father's brother in the same category as full brothers and sisters and forbade the marriage of such cousins on the ground that that relationship was too close.

602 Understanding of the native's conception regarding marriage and relationship is necessary to explain these conventions. It is sexual relations, 835 rather than blood, that is the basis of the primary degrees of relationship in the system. *Ahana* was the term used by a woman for her husband and also for his brothers; *vehine* was used by a man for his wife and also for her sisters. Now it has been pointed out that the application of the terms for husband and wife to husband's brothers and sisters' husbands, and to wife's sisters and brother's wives, was not merely figurative but was justified by sexual rights that made the use of the term literal—the wife's sister or brother's wife was at times to all intents and purposes, the man's wife. Therefore the children of the sisters of a man's wife, even though they might actually be—as they usually were—the children of another man, were regarded as the man's children and were called by him by the same terms as his own children, *tama* and *mo'i*. Similarly the children of the brothers of a woman's husband were regarded as her own. On the other

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hand there was no sexual relationship between a man and his own sisters nor a woman and her own brothers.

Now, all matters associated in any way with cohabitation, reproduction by the woman, menstruation, and so on, were regarded as contaminating in association with beings, things, or activities that were characterized as *tapu* or sacred. The logical result, therefore, of the marriage system in which the sisters of a man's wife and the wives of his brothers were also the man's wives, and the brothers of a woman's husband and the husbands of her sisters were also the woman's husbands—and of the religious system, in which all things associated with cohabitation and reproduction were contaminating—was that in all ceremonial matters the relatives that were called upon to take charge of the child were those close relatives, who could not have mutual sexual relationships—in other words, who were not spiritually contaminating to the child because of sexual contact or connection in any way with his parents or potential parents. It was the mother's brothers, who had no sexual relationship either with the mother or the father, and the father's sisters, who had no sexual relationship with the father or the mother, who had entire charge of the child in all of the numerous rites that were performed for it.

Concomitant with the relationship and rule of *tapu*, under discussion is the institution of cross-cousin marriage, which was the most approved type, though not obligatory. A person could not marry the child of a paternal uncle or a maternal aunt, because this child was regarded as full brother or sister. On the other hand, since a man could not marry his brother-in-law nor a woman her sister-in-law, the child of a maternal uncle or paternal aunt was sure not to be a full brother or sister, but a first cousin. To the native of the Marquesas, full brother and sister marriage was too close and so prohibited. But first cousin marriage was most approved, in general, for social and economic reasons, since it kept the family together as a unit and did not require the distribution of its property.

BIRTH AND INFANCY

Birth Rites

There were a number of *tapu* intended to protect the mother and her unborn child during the period of her pregnancy. Most of these had to do with what the woman ate. The pregnant woman had to be protected also against the influence of evil spirits. It was for this reason that her husband stayed with her in the birth house during the time preceding birth. Other regulations were made, evidently to protect the unborn child from evil influence emanating from unclean things. Garcia (14, p. 74) says:

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583
through the desire on the part of a young couple to remain together more 848
or less permanently.

All of the rules applying to marriage that are about to be mentioned 582
applied to adoptive relatives in exactly the same way as to blood relatives. [547]

Marriage was permitted either in or out of the tribe. Formal betrothal was, however, always between members of different tribes. It seems probable that there was very little marriage outside of the tribe, except between the children of chiefs. On Hiva Oa there was never either marriage or betrothal between members of the western division called Nuku and those of the eastern division called Pepane.

The restrictions controlling marriage in general were explained to me once in the following way: There could be no marriage that was within the third degree of relationship called *pakeke;* there must be "four individuals between" *(e fa enata).*

Cohabitation was absolutely forbidden for the following classes: 582
brothers and sisters, parents and offspring, grandparents and grandchildren, 835
and cousins who were sons and daughters of a father's brothers or of a mother's sisters, these cousins being regarded as full brothers and sisters. What was the punishment for incest I do not know.

Temporary or occasional cohabitation only was allowed to father- or mother-in-law with son- or daughter-in-law *(motunoai* with *hunona).* Permanent mating was not allowed on the part of these, even if the formally affianced *(tuia)* husband or wife were dead. What is meant by temporary or occasionel cohabitation is what is expressed in native parlance by the phrase *e koana i te kamo,* literally "to be permissible to steal," the sense being apparently, that one could snatch such temporary relationship if occasion offered. The occasion was usually the absence of the regular husband or wife. A man had the right to sleep with his brothers' wives or with his wife's sisters with the consent of their husbands, but such permission appears to have been given only when the *ahana* was absent.

Between all the members of the opposite sex not included in the 582
classes above permanent mating was allowed. This included marriage between maternal uncles and paternal aunts *(pahupahu)* and their nephews and nieces *(i'amutu).* The fact that these could marry would seem to stand as an argument against the hypothesis presented in the discussion in explanation of this personal relationship—that is, that the relationship was ceremonial, based on the fact that it did not have in it the possibility of contamination through sexual contact. But all the rites, in which the *pahupahu* took charge of the *i'amutu* and in which it was necessary that there should be no such contamination, occurred during the childhood of the *i'amutu,* in other words, before there could have been any such

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582 contamination by sexual contact on the part of the *pahupahu* and *i'amutu*. I have no evidence that would show any close ceremonial relationship or other relationship of importance between the *i'amutu* and the *pahupahu* after the *i'amutu* had attained maturity.

The most approved of all marriages was between cross cousins, though this was not a fixed rule of marriage. For a man to marry his deceased brother's wife or a woman her deceased sister's husband was highly approved though not obligatory. So far as I could ascertain, there was no first night right in the Marquesas on the part of brothers or of any other than the true husband.

I was told in Pua Ma'u that a man and a woman who desired to make a proper marriage should be related in some way, for two reasons: first, in order to keep all the property of each within the family and to prevent its distribution; and secondly, so that a man's wife could wash her husband's waist cloth, or beat the cloth for his loin cloth. (None but a man's relatives could touch his loin cloth.)

593 837 When a woman undertook to live with a man, she placed herself under his authority. If she cohabited with another man without his permission, she was beaten or, if her husband's jealously was sufficiently aroused, killed. It often happened that later the man himself was killed for revenge by the woman's family. I have been told that a native woman was, and is, always proud when her husband beats her, because by the strength of his jealousy is measured the strength of his devotion. If a woman was unhappy with her husband, she could return home or she could go to live with another man, in which case there would be likely to be trouble between the two men. According to Père Jean (19) peaceful separation by mutual agreement was rare. It seems evident, however, from discussion of the matter with informants, that separation was common and violent results on account of excessive jealousy very uncommon. If a woman were overwhelmed with sorrow and jealousy on account of the unfaithfulness of a man, it does not appear that she would attempt to revenge herself either on the other woman or on her husband, but rather that her grief would lead to suicide by taking poison or hanging herself. Discussion of this matter with informants leads me to believe that such a course was by no means infrequent with women. Père Jean says that women sometimes followed this course with the intention of returning after death as *vehine hae*, or evil spirits, to haunt the surviving husband and his new wife.

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The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

/108 cont./
aboriginal culture as well. It is important to recall that no stigma is attached by the culture at present to these casual relations. The stigma is reserved at present for habitual homosexual and/or transvestite (mahu), who prefers homosexual to heterosexual relations. The role of mahu existed in the /109/ aboriginal culture, being described by Handy (1923, p. 103) as being acted by those who devoted themselves to the activities and relationships of women.

Comparing the data obtained on incest tapu with that in the ethnographic record, some changes are noticed. First, there was a lack of emphasis on cross-cousin marriage as being ideal as it was in aboriginal times, and, hence, there was a lack of emphasis on the sexual accessibility of cross uncles and aunts to ego (a permissive sexual relationship between parents-in-law and children-in-law obtained in the past as at present).

At present, the same general categories of relationships are excluded from indulging in relations as were in the past, but there appears to be some pressure being exerted on the sanctions against relations between parallel cousins. This is probably due to the fact that in the seriously depleted population, a man's opportunities for sexual intercourse are quite restricted normally. Many of the individuals in the area where he resides will often be relatives within the bounds of the incest tapu. It frequently becomes a necessity, then, to seek sexual outlets among people within the limits of the incest tapu. As relations between parallel cousins seem to provoke less emotion than brother-sister incest, for example, it is little wonder that relations between cousins occur with some frequency.

There is no historical or ethnographic data available from other sources on practices involving sexual relations with animals or inanimate objects. It should be noted that a frequently recurring element in Marquesan legends is that of sexual relations between women and eels, however, while the god Tiki is reputed to have created man by copulating with a female figure made /110/ of beach sand, in the same fashion as Marquesan boys currently copulate with sand effigies in sexual play.